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INDIGENOUS LEARNING AND TEACHING

tutors or in the Kuttab, the most important content in learning is the memorizing of the Koran as the basis of all other knowledge. The Kuttab has been, and is still in many remote villages in Aswan, the institution for religious learning, in which children learn part or the whole of the Koran, to be able to use this knowledge for their recitation and prayers, and the observation of correct ritual and prayer. The learning of reading and writing was always secondary to this all-important aim.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries a great number of Kuttabs were financed by the revenue derived from charitable foundations called 'Wakfs'.[1] It was not until 1906 that these schools felt the impact of the central Government authority. In that year the Kuttab was organized, and a system of inspection and awards was worked out in accordance with which Kuttabs satisfying the official requirements could avail themselves of it. The aid was dependent upon daily instruction in the three R's, together with religious teaching, combined with a report of the Ministry of Education Inspector as to the general conditions of the Kuttab.[2] Later on, private awards were given to those boys who could satisfy the Inspector in an oral examination that they had learnt all the Koran by heart.

In Silwa and its neighbouring villages, there is only one aided 'Maktab', which is the official name for a recognized Kuttab, besides the other five unrecognized Kuttabs.[3] It is significant to note that four out of the six Kuttabs are attached to, or situated very near, a mosque, and the fifth is adjacent, and connected with a clan's guest house. Apart from the obvious connection between the mosque and religious learning in the Kuttab, such a proximity between the Kuttab, the mosque and the clan guest house enables the Kuttab boys to fetch water from the wells of the mosque or the clan guest house to be used for drinking, or for cleaning their wooden tablets. Out of the six Sheikhs running the Kuttabs in Silwa, three are blind. The Kuttab building usually consists of two rooms, with a raised dais in each room for the Sheikh. There is hardly any equipment, except the Sheikh's prayer mat, and the wooden tablets on which the boys write their Koranic assignment. The aided Kuttab is, however, an exception, as it has wooden seats, desks, and a blackboard, and is whitewashed. All the Kuttabs, except the aided one, are confined to boys. Only recently have some girls begun to attend the aided Kuttab, as attendance at it exempts both boys and girls from going to the compulsory school. In fact, throughout the history of Moslem Egypt the keenness on teaching girls the Koran has never been so strong as in the case of boys. MacDonald mentioned, however, that there are records of

[1] J. Hayworth-Dunne, *An Introduction to the History of Education in Modern Egypt.*
[2] Ministry of Education, *Code of Regulations Relating to Grants-in-Aid to Kuttabs*, No. 1161, May 1906.
[3] The Kuttab is usually referred to in Silwa by the name Khalwa—a word which literally means 'an isolated place for worship'.

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'mulids', weddings and funerals. They are never addressed without the prefix of 'Sheikh'.

In evaluating the educational aims of the Kuttab, one must remember the purpose of such an institution in a community like Silwa, and its aims in Egyptian society in general during the eighteenth century for instance. The present Kuttab in Silwa fulfills the task demanded of it by the people in maintaining the standards of Islamic learning in which the memorizing of the Koran comes first and foremost. Indeed, the religious and moral ideals of Islam have determined the scope of Islamic education. For the Greeks, education was part of politics, for the Moslems it is part of a comprehensive system of theology. For the latter the object of education is the salvation of the soul and not the control of nature and society.[1]

To expect the Kuttabs to prepare children for practical life or to teach them arithmetic, drawing, or rhythmic movements, according to some of the modern critics of these institutions, is to assume modern standards and social demands in a society which by its very organization does not require its schools to provide such activities. This is the task of the parents, and is to be learnt through life itself. It must be emphasized here that children are sent to the Kuttab voluntarily and they themselves are not averse to attending it to learn part of the Koran. Indeed, the alternative is for the children to work hard in the fields. The Kuttab Sheikhs are fully aware of the drawbacks of the educational system in the village at present. They see that the learning of the Koran by the children is interrupted by compulsory schooling, that parents do not leave their children undisturbed in the Kuttabs but frequently withdraw them to help at home or in the fields. They also complain that fewer boys remain in the Kuttab to go through the Koran again, after they finish the first time, and thus they forget it quickly. Nevertheless, in spite of what one may say of the Kuttab, it is evident from the opinions of the villagers that one cannot ignore the strength of the religious motive that renders this educational institution an integral part of the community. Practically every family in the village with more than two sons would like, as an ideal, to dedicate one of them 'to the cause of knowledge' (Ilm). Moreover, one notices that it is usually the younger brothers who attend the Kuttab, as the older brothers are more often needed for father's aid in farm work. Yet it is not unusual to hear of a man taking a vow to send his first son to the Kuttab, for this means an economic sacrifice for the sake of 'baraka', emanating from learning the Koran. Sending the youngest boy to the Kuttab is considered as a way of showing parental affection for the last born, by sparing him the arduous tasks of working in the fields. Blind boys find in the Kuttab a place where they can absorb themselves in learning the Koran, and it is mostly these blind boys who remain in the Kuttab until they finish memorizing the whole of it.

[1] See for example the writings of Al-Ghazali, *Ihya-ulum-iddin* (Boulak, 1878); As-Zarnuji, *Ta 'lim al Muta'allim Wa Tariqat at-ta 'allum* (translated by G. E. von Grunebaum and Theodora M. Abel, New York, 1947).

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Mawlid Salma (Prophet's Life-story).

These books are usually obtained from an itinerary vendor, who occasionally visits the village. Amongst those who own books, three persons actually possess the bulk of the books found in the village: they are the Sheikh of the recognized 'Kuttab', a village school teacher, and an ambitious young man who owns a shop in the village at present, after having spent more than ten years in Cairo and Alexandria. Yet perhaps none of these people possess more than a dozen books.

As to the spread of the newspapers, there are ten persons in this community of over three thousand people who buy newspapers, although not regularly. They get them from a distributor travelling by local train. Three of the newspaper buyers are shopkeepers, while two others are teachers in the compulsory school. News naturally infiltrates to a large extent through reading aloud the news in the village gatherings, or through borrowing the newspapers. Up to 1951 there was no radio set in the village and, of course, no cinema, thus contact with the outside world, as far as these aids are concerned, was entirely absent.

The extent of literacy in this community could also be expressed in the number of people who have been to any school other than those educational institutions existing in the village (before the establishment of the primary school in the village). The following is a list enumerating all the boys and men who are receiving some kind of education outside the village:[1]

Nine boys in the primary school in Aswan (under 12 years old).

One boy in the secondary school in Aswan (14 years old).

Six boys in the Training College for Elementary Teachers in Aswan.

Two elementary school teachers who are actually teaching in the village compulsory school.

One higher education.

In analysing these educated people from the village, it is important to show the various incentives for their education. Four of those in the primary school and the elementary training college are cousins: the father of two of them is an Azharite and a teacher at the village school, and it is not surprising that he should send his two sons to school in Aswan. Two years ago, however, his younger brother quarrelled with him, and decided to vie with him at every turn, even in sending two of his sons to the same schools as those of his brother. Two of the other boys are sons of a relatively well-off woman who forced her husband to divorce her. She then married a younger man, and managed to keep her two sons under her custody by sending them to school and personally bearing the expenses incurred by their education in Aswan, as the father himself could not do so. One of the boys in the primary school in Aswan is the son of a blind man who possesses practically no land and on receiving aid (£E2 a month) for his disability from the Ministry of Endowment, decided to send his son to school.

[1] There are no village girls at all who have received or are receiving education outside the village compulsory school.

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PASS-ALONG

I.Q.	*Frequency*		
	boys	girls	total
30–39	1	3	4
40–49	0	1	1
50–59	0	2	2
60–69	0	8	8
70–79	3	8	11
80–89	1	9	10
90–99	11	2	13
100–109	11	10	21
110–119	8	3	11
120–129	2	1	3
130–139	1	0	1

For the results of test I the following remarks may be made concerning the interpretive significance of its scores.

1. As far as this small group of thirty-one boys and girls (with an average chronological age of eleven years eight months for boys, and eleven years four months for girls) is concerned, the results fall below the average norm of intelligence compared with urban children on whom the test was standardized.

2. The distribution in the sample, however, roughly follows the normal distribution.

3. Comparing boys and girls, the latter tend to have slightly higher scores on the whole than the boys.

For the results of tests II and III one notes that:

1. Unless the sample of test I happens to be of low intelligence (an assumption for which there is no apparent justification except the small number) tests II and III appear to be better tests than test I. In these tests children, including the sample in test I, have scored average and even superior I.Q.s. In test III, especially in the case of boys, the curve shows a skew towards the superior I.Q. tendency.

3. Boys on the whole have better scores in these performance tests than girls. In the Porteus Maze test only three girls out of sixty-three are above the average (100), while thirteen boys out of sixty-four fall above the average. In the Pass-along test the area representing boys of average or above average I.Q. is larger than that of the girls.

[73?] [8?8] It is to be noted here that one of the boys who is mentally deficient and could not handle the test problems of the performance tests at all, is called Shaikh' (saint) by the rest of the school children. Among the adults there

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Among the adults there

are in the village four people who may be considered by psychologists as insane or mentally deficient but are regarded as possessing a 'saintly touch'. However, the use of these three types of intelligence tests tends to indicate, apart from the difficulty of sampling, that the children have an intelligence of the practical type. The nature of the performance tests is perhaps nearer to the problems of their serious activities of everyday life. On the whole they scored better in Pass-along than Porteus.

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It is worth mentioning that some of the children who came out well in the performance tests did very badly with the verbal test, and this could be attributed to the unfamiliarity of the children with the intellectual items of the latter. Apart from the mathematical items, this unfamiliarity could be demonstrated by item 8, Section 1. In it, the child is asked: 'If you want to give your mother a present what will you choose: a skipping rope, a toy, a silk stocking or a bicycle?' Although the obvious answer according to the test is 'silk stocking', which some children gave, others gave 'a skipping rope' or 'a bicycle' while none chose a toy. On asking a boy why he chose a bicycle, he answered that after giving it to his mother he would take it back for himself. Some of those who chose the rope thought that it was a useful thing for mother as she 'would hang the washing on it'. The difference of value-attitudes implied in such items and their influence on answers given, is similar to that classical example given by Klineberg with regard to one of the items of the 'National Intelligence Test' which was administered to some children of an Indian tribe. In this item the subject is presented with the words: crowd, closeness, danger, dust, excitement, number, and is asked to underline only two words which are the necessary characteristics of the crowd. Although 'closeness and number' are the correct answers according to the key of the test, yet many of the Indian children underlined danger and dust and in other cases excitement. According to their own logic and experience these answers seem to be the right ones.[1]

In our case the results of testing by a verbal test brings out the validity of applying tests standardized for urban children to rural children. By no means all the children who took the Kabbani test are mentally deficient, but the test itself is overweighted with items that are more suitable to city children, and may fail to sample adequately those abilities in which the rural children excel. In the United States and Britain studies of urban-rural differences in intelligence have revealed that rural children are neither uniformly nor consistently inferior to urban children on all tests.[2] Our small-scale testing tends to confirm the conclusion that while rural children score low in tests of abstract intelligence, they may excel in tests of the mechanical or practical type.

Although doubts could be cast on the quantitative results of tests that are not standardized for a particular community, such tests could be used

[1] Otto Klineberg, *Race and Psychology*, Unesco, Paris, 1951, p. 11.
[2] A. Anastasi and J. Foley, *Differential Psychology*, New York, 1949, pp. 823–7.